

/47 cont'd/

585 Before the wedding someone is invited by both families to select an auspicious day for the wedding in accordance with the hour, day, month, and year of birth of both the girl and boy. Once the date is selected, both families then begin to prepare for the wedding. If the wedding is of the ch'ü-hsi type, the bridegroom's family comes to the bride's family to go to meet the bride. Otherwise, the bridegroom is received at the home of his wife.

123 At one time, the author attended a Miao wedding ceremony of the chao-chui type. The following account was written in accordance with what I saw that day. It may help the reader to understand the usual manner in which a Miao wedding is celebrated.

585 On the wedding day, both the bride's and the bridegroom's families were very busy. All their relatives and friends gathered at their homes to offer congratulations. Cows and pigs were slaughtered. All day long, the bride's family particularly, was in a turmoil. Not until evening, however, did the principal part of the wedding ceremony begin. The bridegroom wore a long gown, a riding

[292] jacket, socks, and shoes. His head was covered with a large pointed kerchief, which also covered most of his face, as if the bridegroom was very shy. He was carried out from his home on the back of a male go-between. Close behind them another man holding a wide open cloth umbrella to cover him followed step by step. They were preceded by another male go-between followed by a man who carried the wedding gifts. The wedding gifts consisted of wine and tobacco leaves. The two go-betweens and the men who carried the umbrella and the wedding gifts were formally dressed in long gowns, riding jackets, socks, shoes, etc. After the bridegroom had come a few steps from out the door, the go-between at the front of the procession fired a few firecrackers and the procession paused. Not until they heard the explosion of the firecrackers set off by the bride's family did they continue to go ahead. (In this wedding, the two families happened to be close neighbors. The sound of the firecrackers could be heard from either side.) After they had walked halfway they stopped once more. In a moment two young girls sent ahead from the bride's family (called pan-niang, "bridesmaids")

/120 cont'd/

181 leader was arrested and tortured by the li because he planned to es-
871 tablish a school. But they were not discouraged by these unhappy
648 occurrences and pushed on to their goal. On this occasion, when we
arrived in the village this spring, they were just trying to establish
a school and begged us to stay there for a few months to do some
teaching for them. At the least, they hoped we would help them to
establish the school. But owing to our busy schedule, we had to leave
within a few days. It was really surprising that when we returned
there within a week we found that they had already completed the
construction of the school building. Teachers had also been engaged,
waiting for the opening of classes. However, the Li leaders in the
neighborhood were preventing them from doing this by every means.
When we left there this conflict had not been yet settled. This event
impressed us deeply.

648 The Miao all live high in the mountains. Their life is hard,
123 and they have no place to submit their complaints. Therefore, they
are very glad to have some cultural and social intercourse with the
Chinese, and, needless to say, they have great expectations of the
government. When we arrived in the Miao area, they gave us a warm
welcome, /121/ because, with the exception of a few Chinese mer-
chants, very few Chinese ever visited there and were sympathetic
toward them. However, a few shrewd Li leaders also are aware of
this and try by every means to prevent the Chinese from meeting the
Miao. The Li leaders especially try to prevent the Miao from getting
in touch with the Chinese government, so that their complaints will
not be heard by the outside world and they will have to endure all the
injustices inflicted on them.

51/ The differences in the way of life between these two groups of
people have created two entirely different national characteristics.
The Miao are a people without property. The mountain area in which
they live is rented from others. They have to pay a certain amount
of rent annually. These mountain lands usually have very poor soil.
Water supply is insufficient. They have to work hard to combat

157 nature in order to obtain a minimum amount of produce to live on.
46/ Such circumstances have made them a hard-working and very frugal

/129 cont'd/

755 sick man was lying on the ground, as thin as a stick. When we in-
796 quired about his illness, we learned that he was suffering from stom-
ach trouble, probably caused by careless eating. Since the only
medicine we had on hand was a box of "Gardon," we gave him a
grain to take. We asked three boys to come back with us to fetch
more stomach medicine so that the patient could continue taking it.
When we reached our lodgings it was one o'clock in the morning.

Second month, twentieth day. (Saturday)

132 It was rather chilly when we rose early in the morning, and the
137 thermometer read 58° Fahrenheit. When I first arrived here I was
surprised to see only a few solitary coconut palms, which was quite
different from the dense growths of coconut palms to be found else-
where in Hainan. Now I began to understand: because this area is
adjacent to the interior part of Hainan Island, it is cut off from out-
side air by several layers of high mountains, and the temperature here
is thus lower, and it is not easy for coconut palm trees to grow big in
this climate.

126 At eleven o'clock in the morning, we left for Yen-sheng village
764 to watch a burial ceremony. The whole affair, from beginning to
end, was filmed with a motion-picture camera by Mr. /130/ Kuang
Po-hsiao, as an opportunity of this kind is very hard to come by. The
[77] ceremony was in many instances influenced by Chinese customs,
traces of which could be seen in such things as paper banners, mourn-
ing garments worn by members of the family, stone tablets for tomb-
stones, etc. The whole ceremony took several hours, and it was not
until four in the afternoon that the burial was completed.

● 123 According to the original plans of our party, we were to split
into two groups at this place, from which we would pursue different
routes for our excursions. At night we discussed our future plans and
decided upon a general outline of the work to be done.

/130 cont'd/

Second month, twenty-first day. (Sunday)

124 At eleven o'clock in the morning we left for Wen-hua market. We had previously asked Mr. Li Hsi-ch'ing to get some of the Miao and Li of the vicinity to come here to meet us. Soon we saw the Miao headman /chia ch'ang/ of Pao-ch'a village, Wang Fu-shou arriving with a group of over 20 Miao men and women. But only a few Li people came. Mr. Yang Ch'eng-chih immediately began the task of taking physical measurements of the people there, photographing them, etc. The Miao struck me as a group of very likable people. We invited them to a feast at Mr. Li's store and presented them with some small gifts. Mr. Li's wife, a Li, was visibly displeased upon 648 seeing our bestowal of favor on the Miao. I was really puzzled by this, but later upon study I began to understand the complex relationship between these two groups, which can only be grasped by someone who has actually lived among them.

181 As we were returning from Wen-hua, three or four Miao men followed us closely. They complained to us about the hardships of their lives and earnestly begged us to take them along for schooling. Their desire for knowledge and education was so sincere and pressing that it amazed me greatly. This indicated the deep-hearted cry of the minority groups to which we sincerely hope the government will give special attention.

Second month, twenty-second day. (Monday)

487 Ten o'clock in the morning, we started off for a visit to the Miao 361 village of Pao-ch'a under the guidance of the Miao headman, Wang Fu-shou. The Miao live in the high mountains, /131/ and the path to the village was unusually winding and rugged. On the way we learned from Headman Wang that Headman Lu of Ang-chi village had a large collection of written records of the Miao. We were much excited and decided to head directly for that village first. Upon our 123 arrival the villagers appeared very much disturbed, being taken aback by the unexpected presence of strangers. I hurried immediately to find Headman Lu and explained to him the reason for our abrupt arrival. *This allayed their suspicion.*

622 /132 cont'd/
217

Upon leaving, we presented him with some gifts, for which he thanked us profusely.

123 /133/ In order to get pictures of the t'iao niang, at four o'clock in the afternoon, we had Mr. Wu Jui-lin act as the sick person and asked several "old women" to perform the t'iao niang in the drying yard at Mr. Chao-i's home. Perhaps because they perceived our intentions, they did not act as naturally as they normally would have. It was a half-hearted performance, for which we paid them four dollars and, in addition, a small pig, which were taken away and divided among them.

231 In the evening we watched Mr. Chao-i training his wild horses in his fish pond /sic/. His expertness in the training was much admired by us.

Second month, twenty-fifth day. (Thursday)

115 It had been reported that Headman Lu of Ang-chi village would conduct a tsò chai for his dead brother on the three days, the 25th, 26th, and 27th days of the month. We decided to go to that village and stay there in order to observe this carefully, and at the same time to get a better look at the general conditions of living of the Miao. Mr. Chao-i gave us a rich farewell banquet with pigs and lambs, to which he also invited several other Li headmen of the vicinity. After the feast, we left for Ang-chi village. There we rested for a while, and then went to Chih-pao village where we wished to borrow Headman Teng's family heirlooms, such as the pictures of gods and the Taoist books for photographing. Mr. Yang Cheng-chih, Mr. Wu Jui-lin, Mr. Chiang Ying-liang, and Mr. Kuang Pe-ngo were to leave from here for Ta-ch'i, and then they would take the route to Wu-chih /"five fingers"/ Mountain to make their investigation. Mr. Ho Yüan-chiung and I were to return to Ang-chi and were to stay in this Li and Miao area for some time. The two groups of our party thus bade farewell to each other, and each pursued its own course. In the midst of deep valleys and steep mountains, I began to feel loneliness in a strange land with no one

/77 cont. /

Today, those

291 Miao scattered through Kweichow, Yunnan, Kwangsi, and
 184 Indochina still retain for the most part their original style of
 [177] dress. In 1934 when the authors were studying the Miao tribe
 in Sung-lin-shao, at Meng-tzu, Yunnan, they saw that the
 women for the most part wore old-style clothes, but the men's
 clothing mainly followed the Chinese style. In the course of
 291 conversation with an old man of over 70, they found that he
 [123] kept two men's garments, which he regarded as precious and
 was not willing to show to people. The offer to purchase them
 as specimens was rejected, no matter what the price. They
 only got to take two photographs, Illus. 43 and 44, which show
 an open-front long gown, without a front piece /ch'ien pai/
 [531] but with two sleeves. The top front and the back /hou pai/ of
 the gown had a great deal of embroidery. To make that gown
 must have required a lot of work.

291 The Miao women's clothing in western Hunan resembles
 531 that of farm women in the interior during the last days of the
 [177] Ch'ing dynasty. The length of the upper garment does not
 pass the knee, it has a wide border and an embroidered lapel,
 and the sleeves and trousers of even ordinary house garments
 have embroidered borders (Illus. 42). The workmanship and
 the color combinations are slightly different from the Chinese.
 Illustrations 45 and 46 show the everyday clothes of Miao
 women, with a wide border and embroidered large lapel.
 About a kung fen beyond the wide border, is further added a
 narrow border of about two kung fen. In between the two
 borders they sew on a strip of colored cloth or woolen thread.
 On the sleeves are also sewed on one, two, or three borders.
 But for the most part there is no collar.

292 Garments worn when a bride is married or at festivals or
 [531] at weddings (Illus. 48-51) are embroidered on the large lapel
 and on the front and back pieces with plant designs and human
 figures, involving much labor. The Miao girl in her whole
 life makes only one such gown, starting making it a few years
 before her marriage for her wedding dress, and after her
 [764] marriage /Illus. 41-52 on pp. 78-87/ /88/ she wears it on

[text continues on p. 122]

177 /129 cont. /

791 mentioned were introduced by the Chinese. The method of
787 calculating the date is the same as that of the Chinese.

The best way to understand the religion of a people is to
●/123 participate in their religious ceremonies, observing closely and
making inquiries. If one does not have the opportunity to
observe such religious ceremonies, one can depend upon compe-
tent and reliable inquiries for recording and study.

776 The western Hunan Miao are in awe of kuei. According
* 782 to the gazetteer of Yung-sui sub-prefecture, there are more
than 70 kuei which receive sacrifices in Miao districts. (1)

1. Yung-sui T'ing Chih,
Vol. 6 /1908/.

[114] We have made a study of 40 of them. Although the list is by
no means complete, the important ones are covered. Thus we
can understand about 80 or 90 per cent of the contents of the
religion of the Miao of western Hunan. Among the religious
[177] ceremonies of the 40 kuei receiving sacrifices, 16 belong to the
Miao religion and 24 to the guest religion.

The various sacrificial ceremonies for kuei as performed by
the Miao, whether they are of the Miao religion or the guest
religion, are outward manifestations of mankind's inclination
to avoid calamities and seek blessings. The things to be avoided
are disease, death, and all other calamities. What is sought
is the increase of wealth and descendants. Because they believe
that calamities and blessings are completely in the control of
kuei, they regard them with great awe. This awe produces
respect, and respect calls for sacrifices. Whenever they come
across any misfortune, they unquestionably want to sacrifice
to the kuei, but even in ordinary untroubled times, at regular
intervals, they also make sacrifices to the kuei. The former
may be called special sacrifices which are performed because
of sickness or other misfortune, or because of a portent; the
latter may be called routine sacrifices which are held for no
particular reason.

/199 cont./

754 that from three is difficult, and that from four fingers is not
 [562] easy to overcome. The Miao men dread ku and do not learn
 its use, but the Miao women secretly practice it. Before the
 [683] Chia Ch'ing reign period /1796/ when the Miao found a woman
 practicing ku witchcraft, they killed her. After the Chia Ch'ing,
 [439] the Miao did not dare to kill these women, and therefore sold
 [177] them to the Chinese. The Chinese gradually acquired the
 method, and those who had it capitalized on it to make a
 profit." Volume 6 of Yung-sui t'ing-chih states: "A genuine
ku woman has eyes red like cinnabar, and red, green, blue,
 and yellow stripes on her stomach, arms, and back, without
 which she is a fake. A genuine ku woman has not a trace of
 cobwebs in her home. Every day she must place a basin of
 water in the main hall, into which she spits out the ku she has
 collected to drink the water. If she does not do this, she is a
 fake. A genuine ku woman usually is found in the mountains,
 where she sends a bamboo pole high up in the clouds which acts
 like a fighting dragon, or sends a cape up in the sky which
 dances like a bird. If she can't do this, she is a fake. If a
 woman can do the above strange things, the worms which will
 be found in her stomach, opened after she is killed, will be
 real ku. A person victimized by a genuine ku woman dies with-
 in a hundred days. If his sickness lasts a year, then it is not
 from receiving ku." The annals and books of successive dynas-
 ties contain many references to ku poison, but unfortunately
 they are not clear. The present writers were most anxious to
 make a thorough investigation of ku when in the Miao area.

• [123] But as ku is forbidden by the government, the Miao women
 able to do ku hid their secrets well, and our investigation had
 no results. The following notes are some material obtained
 through interrogation.

Ku is called [p'i] in the Miao language, and a ku woman
 is called [mp'ai p'i]. Most of the ku-women are loved by
 their husbands. /200/ which is called /t'io p'i/, meaning
 seduced by ku." The art of ku is handed down from woman to
 [428] woman. For instance, if a ku woman has three daughters, one

I found them friendly and hospitable, but without a sense of relative values. The family with whom I lived would accept no money for the rooms, all the rice I could eat, and all the firewood I needed for heating and cooking. In addition, now and then they brought me vegetables from their own gardens, included me in their feasts, and gave me a bit of something special at other times. But, once I began to knit caps for them and give them medicines, prints of individual snapshots, and a treat for the children upon my return from market, they expected me to continue all those things for themselves and all their relatives, even when the war made communications difficult and prices, accordingly, increasingly high.

They were less conventional than the Chinese, though that does not mean that they lacked social standards. For instance, children were repeatedly rebuked when they went between the fire and those who were sitting around it. At feasts it was considered inhospitable should the host or hostess allow a guest's wine bowl to become empty. No guest ever left the village emptyhanded. Men and women, girls and boys mingled freely, for they considered themselves one large family. There was much goodnatured teasing and repartee. Children, however, often gave way to tantrums and some rather heated arguments took place among adults on occasion. One morning some of the older men of the village were discussing something with the old man of our family. Not only did the talking get loud and sarcastic in tone, but some one of them broke a bowl by throwing it onto the stones of the court outside his room. But on the whole the Miao village was a very pleasant place in which to live.

Language. Dr. Li Fang-kuei²⁴ told me that he considers the Miao dialects a distinct language group, belonging to the Sinitic family of languages. They have no written language. My informant, however, declared that the Cowrie Shell Miao speak the ancient Chinese dialect spoken in Kiangsi at the time their ancestor migrated. There are either seven or nine tones — authorities differ as to

²⁴ At that time acting director of the Section on Philology of the Institute of History and Philology of the Academia Sinica.

342 noticed the symbols for yin and yang and the
 pa kuo for heaven and earth over the door.

342 During the time of my first visit I was in-
 596 vited, to stay in the home of a relative of the
 same generation as the old man's son in Yang-
 chia-sai. They had two houses, the highest on
 the slope on which the village was built. The
 old house was a good one but the new house
 as good as any I saw in Kweichow, being
 built all of wood, with balconies on the sec-
 ond storey (fig. 13, f). The central hall and
 front of the building were lacquered red and
 black. My room had a wooden floor. They
 served my meals to me there. The household
 consisted of an old lady whom I privately
 nicknamed Cricket because of her liveliness,
 her son, his wife and three little daughters.
 The son had been educated in Kweiyang and
 was a teacher in the *lien pao* school. In his
 house were also the articles used by a priest.
 They had a buffalo bull kept in a stable of its
 own and being made ready for the bullfight.
 [515] In this family I saw the evening foot-washing,
 [574] at which guests were invited to use the tub
 first and then others in turn. I saw it later
 in a home in Shang-sai where I visited.

123 I had taken some knitted caps as gifts and
 wool enough to make one more. Mo-mei
 gave three of them to her sister's child and
 three to other relatives she considered most
 important, so I made the seventh one for one
 of the children in my host's family. After
 that was finished I took lessons from Cricket
 in the making of hemp thread, helped the
 little girls make necklaces of large snail shells
 and earrings of fern crosiers, and was invited
 to several meals in other houses.

352 When I arrived there were on the steps
 353 leading to the veranda of the old house a
 table with a pair of buffalo bull horns, points
 down, a millstone with a sprig of rose in the
 hole, two rice bowls upside down, and some
 pieces of bamboo on it. Resting on the
 ground and extending over the table to above
 the eaves were two long bamboo poles, one
 with the end split to hold a rice bowl and the
 other with a sort of bird's nest on top. The
 house in which the sister of the old man in
 our family had died had bamboo sticks with
 straw tied to the top at the two doors.

[206]

621 were the elders, men who stood at the head of groups of closely related families, known as *pao*. There were three *pao* in Yang-chia-sai, and hence three elders, who formed the village council. Disputes within the family were settled, if possible, in the family, in the *pao* within the *pao*. Disputes within the village between members of different *pao* were ordinarily settled by the three elders. If, however, they were unable to effect a settlement, the 621 litigants had the right to carry their dispute to the next higher official, the *lien pao chang*,¹ 648 who was a Chinese, and so on up to the Chinese court in the *hsien* city.

276 Legal Difficulties. When I went back to the village for the second period of residence, 689 the first of February, 1942, I found that the old man's son, Cheng-hsiang, had been in prison in Lung-li for two weeks. He had gone 648 to collect the price of some rice sold to two families in the city. At the second house he had been arrested in an opium raid and held on the charge of opium smoking. On the sixth I went to the *hsien* magistrate's office on his behalf and found that he had been sent to the local Health Station for observation. The man in charge there was called in. He said Cheng-hsiang would be released and cleared of the charge at the expiration of the required period of observation. On the afternoon of the eighth he was allowed to go home for clean clothing. On the tenth he was released and cleared of the charge. 123

661 This same young man went during the last week in June to a place to the east to sell some 648 pork. Upon the homeward way he was robbed by soldiers of the proceeds of the sale and carried off. His companion, who had carried the 123 pork, escaped and went into hiding for a while. They could find out nothing about Cheng-hsiang until a letter came from him, saying that he was held at the point where the motor road forked, one fork going to Hunan, the other to Kwangsi. I went to the *hsien* magistrate for him, as they hesitated to go alone to the *hsien* office and felt in this case that my presence might obtain a better reception there for them, and was told to have them send in an official statement, which

¹ The head official of the *lien pao*.

661 they did. But before anything could be done
 648 he had been taken to Kwangsi. Later his
 123 captors took him to Hunan. He was well
 treated and not forced to become a soldier,
 but served the commanding officer as a sec-
 retary. He was later released. I like to think
 that a letter I wrote to a friend high in the
 provincial government had something to do
 with his release before the soldiers were due
 to return to Kweichow. It was not until after
 the rice harvest that his family sent him travel-
 ing expenses so that he might come home. He
 arrived in Lung-li on the third of December.

648 On the eighteenth of November I was asked
 123 to go to the *hsien* magistrate for them again.
 685 This time a relative by the name of Tang
 was being detained on complaint of some Chi-
 661 nese. This man owned a wooded slope. The
 Chinese, wishing to take advantage of the
 great demand for charcoal as fuel for motor
 vehicles, either had or wanted to set up a
 charcoal depot in Lung-li. They asked this
 man to make his wood into charcoal for them.
 No agreement was made, but they had him
 arrested to be held until he could produce
 fifty thousand *chin*,² more than sixty-six thou-
 sand pounds. What they wanted me to do
 was to urge the *hsien* magistrate to investigate
 the matter quickly so that the man could be
 released. This I did. But when the *hsien*
 magistrate said he could be released if two
 would go surety for him, and they asked me
 to be one of his guarantors, I refused, for I had
 never seen the man and could not find out
 what it meant to be a guarantor under such
 circumstances in China.

After I had gone into the *hsien* city to live
 they continued to ask me to help them. Upon
 one occasion I was asked to urge the *hsien*
 magistrate to hasten his investigation of a case
 in which a Miao had accused some Chinese of
 stealing logs from his house while only his
 wife and children were at home. The Chinese
 said that he had sold them the logs before
 felling the trees on a hillside he owned and
 that they were only taking what already be-
 longed to them. I was asked to urge the
 magistrate to investigate the matter before
 the Chinese should have time to convert the

² One and one-third pounds.

timber into agricultural implements, and did so. I have never found out what the truth of the matter was, but the Miao lost his case because the *hsien* judge found that his witnesses had not told the truth at other points. 648 123 • 685 661

Another case was that of a Miao who had become so angry at his wife that he had her jailed. Her relatives wanted to have her released so that her child need not be born in prison. The husband had disappeared and could not be found to ask him to change his mind. I wrote to the magistrate in the next *hsien*, and after his condition that some merchant in the city go surety for her was met, she was released. 684 [844]

A family in Shang-sai wished to build a house. The head of the family borrowed money from his brother. This brother later brought suit for the return of some of the loan. This was paid at the *hsien* offices on the day set, but the brother did not appear to receive it. Later the family who had received the loan sued the brother for the expense to which they had been put because of his failure to come and receive the payment on the day set. 686

These, of course, were only a few of the disputes which arose in the village or among the whole group of Cowrie Shell Miao. Most small matters were settled among themselves. Much of the old man's time was taken up with such cases. Sometimes others of the village elders were called in for consultation. This was according to the Chinese Government system, though in effect this formed the village government, or council. If matters could not be settled by them, they were taken before the *lien pao* official, and, if necessary, to the *hsien* magistrate. 621 671

Economic Institutions. Within Cowrie Shell Miao society there were no specific economic institutions. Families formed economic units, and as such carried on trade with Chinese merchants and rice brokers in the *hsien* city. Just inside the walls were a few tea-shops owned by city-dwelling Cowrie Shell Miao, conveniently situated for visiting country kinfolk to gather before they returned to their villages from market. The shop keepers were gardeners and farmers as well, and much of their trade was really a form of family visits. In their shops, as well 592 265

764 a special meal, with fresh bean curd as the chief dish. The wife of the second nephew in our family was in charge of preparation of this meal. The old man of our family attended both meals. I believe the woman who died was a near relative of his first wife. All that day first one priest and then another chanted, with or without drum accompaniment, casting the bamboo pieces each time. Chanters and drummer all wore the yellow robe, and the chanters a fancy head scarf. One of the chanters dripped liquor from a boiled green vegetable, one bits of green vegetable on a heap of cooked rice on a paddle on a chopping board, one bits of chicken giblets on this. The paddle was set on the shelf below the inscription to the house god. I was told that this was an offering to the Earth God, or perhaps to the spirits which stay near the earth. They believed, as do the Chinese, in two spirits for each person, the *hun* which they directed to follow the chicken to heaven, and the *kuei*, which stayed on or beneath the earth. All that day, also, a group of men gambled with Chinese dominoes around a table in the court outside the house.

164 Illness and the Most Prevalent Diseases.

The most prevalent diseases were those of the skin — boils, eczema, ringworm, infection from scratched insect bites; intestinal disease due to parasites; conjunctivitis and trachoma; malaria; colds and coughs. In the summer there was a great deal of dysentery. Many had pyorrhea and bad teeth. Several times I saw a woman of the village pull another woman's tooth, which came out very easily. 757 I also saw them wash their eyes with an infusion of leaves, after which another woman picked at the eyelids with a needle. They had some herb remedies for such troubles as dysentery and made a black salve for sores and burns.

757 I took with me the specifics for the troubles mentioned and these, which a doctor at the 123 Red Cross headquarters in Kweiyang considered it safe for a novice to prescribe for, were the only ailments I would consent to treat. I had many calls for these medicines. Always when I went about the village I found it wise to carry them with me; if not, I invariably had to go back for some one of them. However, they did not wholly trust them.

[58a]

755 Always when the trouble was internal they called in the shamaness to go through her ritual and discover the cause of the trouble and the method to use to combat it. Of course they consulted her for other troubles, too, and on rare occasions asked a priest to perform a similar ritual.

757
123 One day I discovered that the young man in House 31 had a bad foot. I made him put it in hot water and put on salve. During the day a big carbuncle under his big toe came to a head, broke, and began to exude pus nicely. I left him with a rag around it, and he later went to sleep. They gave me a good breakfast with turnips in the soup.

At the funeral of the oldest inhabitant I found myself holding a sort of clinic after each feast — treatment for sore eyes, various kinds of sores and boils, and a teething baby whose stomach was upset. I had a great many calls in the village for eye drops to help sore eyes and trachoma, by even an old lady who was going blind. I had almost as many calls for salves to put on skin troubles, which were a great affliction to them. It was not safe to prescribe for more serious complaints lest they blame me when the patient died. However, the use of simple remedies was an excellent way to make friends, as I learned when I gave the poor little baby of one of the priests cod liver oil and the child began to pick up. Even tiny babies had big boils on the shoulder or foot.

164 Each summer while I was in the *hsien* there were epidemics of dysentery in the *hsien* city, brought by travelers — refugees and soldiers, chiefly — and this was then carried to the villages. One summer the whole family in which I was staying had the complaint. The second son of the old man's son died of it. The previous summer the first son and a girl baby in a nearby household had died of it, also. It once developed into meningitis and death resulted in a day or two. The only other cause of death among children which I knew of personally was malnutrition. In that case the mother of a baby who had just died, and whose breasts were painfully full, promised me to feed the other child, but never did so.

165 Four other deaths in the village during the period were all of old or elderly men and

796 breakfast much like the feast of the night
 252 before, but there was no soup. First pieces of
 [124] pork were cooked in the bowl over the fire,
 527 then other things in turn. I sat until noon
 with the old man and his second wife and
 found them very ready to answer questions
 about family history. The conversation led
 into that channel in an interesting way. The
 old man had been reading about Roosevelt in
 the newspaper and asked me questions, being
 most desirous of knowing whether there were
 many people named Lo in the United States.
 (The Chinese call Roosevelt "Lo Ssu-fu" and
 he thought Ssu-fu was his given name and Lo
 his surname.) I explained, and said that Roose-
 velt was a Dutch name, that Roosevelt's an-
 cestors had come from Holland to the United
 States. That led the old man to tell me of the
 migration of the ancestor of the Cowrie Shell
 Miao from Kiangsi which I have mentioned
 earlier.²

796 In the afternoon I found twelve of the vil-
 527 lage girls sitting around a fire at their usual
 place, but they had no visitors as yet. During
 the day children went around from house to
 house making bows from the waist or kneel-
 ing and knocking the head to the ground.
 They were given sunflower seeds and parched
 beans and peas. That evening the family had
 another feast similar to the others.

796 From this time on the men sat about the
 533 fires in the houses, the women about several
 527 fires at certain points in the village and just
 inside the wood. The same women usually
 composed each group, but now and then one
 would visit a group not her own. The girls
 now sat about two fires and their "chaper-
 ones" about the third, while Cowrie Shell
 Miao boys from other villages came each day.
 There was much playing on bamboo flutes
 which seemed to call for a certain tune. They
 sang such songs as the farewell to the bride
 a great deal and made up more words for it.
 One of the young men wrote out for me the
 song I have compared with the one from An-
 527 lung and called it a song sung along the road.
 796 The girls were all working on the embroidered
 292 overpiece. One day they put a turban on me
 which seemed to be half unmarried girls'

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² See p. 8.

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style and half married women's style, as it included the chopstick, and an overpiece, and taught me how to swing shoulders and hips to make the shells click. One of the visiting boys brought his *lu sheng* one day. Four of the girls danced and also one of the village men, who had his gun with him.

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During this fifteen day period Mo-mei, her best friend among the girls, and the first nephew's oldest son went to visit relatives in Yang-niu-ts'un. They carried a bag of rice and some meat as a gift. The same day four other girls, with a boy to carry a jar of wine and a piece of smoked meat, also went visiting. They all stayed four days. Cheng-hsüan visited at his old home from New Year's Day until the twelfth of the first month. On the fifteenth another feast was held, to which I was not invited, for it was for members of the family only. The married daughter returned for this, bringing her little girl with her. At this time incense sticks were also set at the doors. They sent me a dish of chicken from the feast.

The girls continued to sit by their fires after the fifteenth, but the women did not come to the third fire, and there were no visitors. At all fires, they ate glutinous rice cakes toasted in the ashes at noon. The only break in the period of relaxation came on the ninth of the first month, when every one in the vicinity went for faggots on the mountains. Those from near the village to Lung-li had been burned over—a beautiful sight—and the people were anxious to get the partly charred wood. It burned well, but was very dirty to handle.

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San Yüeh San.³ The first time I was in the village, at this season the men of the village built three fires at the shrine on the south, killed a chicken, used eggs to divine the fortune of the year, burned incense, and spirit money before the shrine, and set off three gunpowder charges. Incense sticks were also placed beside a little pine tree beyond the path, looking toward the meadow. Some of the chicken feathers and inscriptions on red paper were pasted on the shrine. At the other two shrines spirit money and incense

³ The third day of the third month according to the lunar calendar—a Chinese festival.

PREFACE

This article is the result of about fifteen years of study and contact with the Ch'uan Miao 川苗 people. 121

I first learned of the Ch'uan Miao in 1921 through a Hua Miao 花苗 who came to Suifu 綏府 during a famine. Soon after that I visited the Ch'uan Miao near Lo Piao 洛表 and at Chou Chia Kou 周家溝 and a Ch'uan Miao boy, Yang Fêng Chang 楊奉璋, came with me to Suifu where, with my help, he studied in and graduated from the Baptist junior and senior primary schools. After that he was my almost constant companion and went with me on nearly all my expeditions on the China-Tibetan border. From him I learned something of the Ch'uan Miao language and customs.

On returning to Szechwan in 1932 as curator of the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology, I made a more determined effort to learn about the Ch'uan Miao. Yang Fêng Chang spent much time with me at Chengtu and after his tragic death, while hunting takin, I made three summer expeditions to the Ch'uan Miao region, and another in the spring of 1936 to Suifu when several Ch'uan Miao came out and assisted me in my study.

Since the summer of 1934 much help has been given me by Mr. Hsiung Ch'ao Sung 熊朝嵩, a Ch'uan Miao who formerly lived in northern Yunnan but now lives at Wang Wu Chai 王武寨 near Lo Piao. The fact that he has travelled over much of the Ch'uan Miao territory has made him a valuable assistant. The information received has been repeatedly checked, verified and often corrected through other Ch'uan Miao from Wang Wu Chai, Chou Chia Kou, Yung Ning 永寧 and from different parts of northern Yunnan.

The Ch'uan Miao generally say very little about their customs. They have informed me that in the past they have never told many of these things to anybody outside their own group but have made evasive and misinforming statements. To this day some ceremonies are performed behind closed doors, such as the worship of the door and the killing of the sow when worshipping the sky demon. The main ceremonies of commemoration are purposely confined to the Ch'uan Miao dialect so that nobody who is not a Miao can understand them. In the two ceremonies mentioned above, if one word of Chinese is spoken, the whole ceremony must be repeated. 609

I have made a sincere and earnest effort to understand the Ch'uan Miao people among whom I am considered a very good friend and by whom I have been given the complimentary name 123

- 123 of Na Kw'a Tai Lo, meaning great and kindly teacher. It is my hope that this study will contribute to a better understanding of the Ch'uan Miao.

I. INTRODUCTION

133 South of Suifu in Szechwan Province, on the borders of
487 Szechwan, Kweichow and Yunnan, the mountains rise to an altitude of from three to six thousand feet. There are many high peaks, precipices, perpendicular or overhanging cliffs, forests, waterfalls, natural bridges, and streams disappearing into the mountainsides and reappearing far away. While the roads between Chinese towns and villages are generally paved with stone slabs, many of the roads are narrow footpaths, sometimes steep and dangerous, winding up the mountainsides or through the fields and forests. This is the home of the Ch'uan Miao people.

161 This ethnic group, which is generally called a tribe,
131 includes about one hundred and fifty thousand people. They are found as far north as Kunghsien 拱縣 and Ch'angning 長寧, about one hundred li east of Yung Ning 永寧, as far south as Ta Kuan 大關 in Yunnan Province, and as far west as Sui Chiang Hsien 綏江縣. In the same region is a much larger population of Chinese, for the Ch'uan Miao do not live in a territory by themselves but are interspersed among the Chinese people.

142 These people resemble the Chinese in having a light, olive-brown skin and very little hair on the face, but they differ from the Chinese in West China in being slightly shorter in stature and in having a less evident epicanthic fold or Mongolian slant to the eyes; there are greater physical differences between the Ch'uan Miao and the Lolos (Nosu) and Tibetans.

192 Below is given a very brief comparison of vocabularies. From Samuel R. Clarke¹ I have borrowed all, with two or three slight changes, except the Ch'uan Miao. The romanization is that of Clarke and as far as possible, I have made the romanization of the Ch'uan Miao words correspond for similar sounds. A comparison of the languages and of the social and religious customs, makes it evident that the Ch'uan Miao are a branch of the Miao-Yao Group and of the Mon-Khmer Family.²

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1. S. R. Clarke: Among the Tribes of South West China, pp. 307-315. Morgan and Scott, London, 1911.

2. H. R. Davies: Yunnan, pp. 331-347. Cambridge University Press, 1909.

PREFACE

123 I first came into contact with the Ch'uan Miao 川苗 in 1921. During the previous year there had been a severe famine in Kweichow 貴州, and many of the tribespeople of that province, to save themselves from starvation, ate grass and the leaves and bark and roots of trees. One Hua Miao 花苗, called Chang Sa Kai or Zaccacus Chang because of his short stature, left his home in Kopu 葛布, Kweichow Province, and came to Suifu 綏府, now called I-pin, where I was stationed. From him I learned of the Ch'uan Miao, and by his help I was able to make friendly contacts with them. I visited the Ch'uan Miao at Chou Chia Keo 周家溝, Wang Wu Chai 王武寨, and other places, and a Ch'uan Miao boy named Yang Fong Tsang went with me to Suifu, where he attended the junior and senior primary schools. For years he was an almost constant companion on my journeys, and he assisted me in my attempts to learn the language and customs of these people.

114 During the following years I visited the Ch'uan Miao in their homes as often as possible, listening to their songs, hunting with them, talking about their customs, taking anthropometrical measurements, and watching them play their wind instruments and dance, or perform their ceremonies.

In 1932 I was transferred to Chengtu 成都, the capital of the province, and was made curator of the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology, Art, and Ethnology. From this time on I made more determined efforts to learn about the Ch'uan Miao. I spent several summers with them, and on one of these expeditions I was accompanied by W. R. Morse, M.D., and Gordon Agnew, D.D.S. Dr. Morse made anthropometrical measurements and observations, and Dr. Agnew studied their diet and their oral conditions. At one time when it was impossible, because of brigands, to go to their homes, several Ch'uan Miao came to Suifu and for weeks aided me in my study. At other times one or more Ch'uan Miao men came all the way to Chengtu. Believing that their music was very interesting and of high quality, I brought three of their best musicians to Chengtu where for several weeks Dr. Agnew and other musicians studied and transcribed their music, and published an interesting article on the music of the Ch'uan Miao in volume 11 of the Journal of the West China Border Research Society.

126 At first my method was to listen to a song or story as it was sung by a Ch'uan Miao man or woman, then write it down sentence by sentence as it was explained by the singer. Later I obtained the help of a Ch'uan Miao who could read and write Chinese and sent him to different parts of the Ch'uan Miao region to collect songs and stories. He would write them in Chinese in little booklets, which he would send to me at Chengtu. Later, with his help, I would translate them into English. The final stage was reached when my knowledge of the Ch'uan Miao language and the international script had improved enough to enable me to write down the Ch'uan Miao words in the international script, then transliterate them, and finally render a translation. I would always go over my final translations several times

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126 with the singer or with the person who collected the songs to make sure that they were as nearly correct as possible. Finally, often with the help of my wife, I worked over the translations in order to improve the English without changing the meaning.

In all, I collected 752 songs, legends, historical and etiological traditions, and short stories, but not all these could be included in this volume. In the romanization of Chinese words the Wade system has been used, while the Miao words and phrases are generally in the international script.

579 One difficulty in pursuing my researches was the robbers, who might appear at any place at any time. The Ch'uan Miao region is very mountainous and abounds in forests, natural caves, and rock shelters. These make it easy for brigands and thieves to conceal themselves along the roads and to escape after a robbery. Many times I was prevented by the officials from taking a proposed trip because of the presence of bands of robbers. I have had numerous narrow escapes.

123 At first the Ch'uan Miao were very reluctant to give information about their beliefs and customs. They often told me that previously they had rarely given such information to Chinese or Westerners and that when they were asked they gave evasive answers. But during the years of contact with these people, a very warm friendship grew up between us, and they became very cooperative and helpful. Without their assistance it would have been impossible to carry on the study of their language and customs. They gave me the name of Na K'wa Dai Lo, or great and kindly teacher, and they always welcomed me to their homes. Several times they met me with bugles and banners, later giving banquets to show their friendly welcome. They permitted me to take pictures freely, gave me the information I wanted, and helped me collect stories and songs and learn their language. Some of them sold to me, for the West China Union University Museum, beautiful embroidered garments that were heirlooms. I am sincerely and deeply grateful to my Ch'uan Miao friends for their assistance.

In 1934 I obtained the help of Hsiung Ch'ao Sung, who could read and write Chinese and who had traveled widely in the Ch'uan Miao region. He gave me much valuable assistance in studying the language and customs, and it was through him that I collected most of the stories and songs. Yang Ch'ing Ming came to Chengtu to attend the Goucher Junior Middle School, and during his stay in Chengtu he rendered valuable help in my studies.

000 Lin Min Chun, formerly assistant curator of the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology, Art, and Ethnology, helped me translate Ch'uan Miao words and phrases into English and into Chinese, and further assisted by searching Chinese histories for references to the Ch'uan Miao. Similar aid was rendered by Dr. Cheng Teh K'un, my successor as curator of the museum. Dr. Serge Elisseeff, of the Harvard-Yenching Institute, and Prof. Jesse Moncrieff, who was president of the Union Language School at Chengtu, aided me in clarifying the Ch'uan Miao sounds and taking them down in the international script. My wife, Alicia Morey Graham, spent a great deal of time correcting the notes and typing the stories and songs.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/51 cont. /

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842 The birth of boys is much preferred to that of girls by the men of both peoples, because boys strengthen their own family community, whereas girls strengthen a foreign one. Meau mothers wish for an equal number of sons and daughters. A
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858 Nevertheless, the preference for boys does not go as far as some authors assume. Contrary to their views, I often had the opportunity to observe that both parents were touchingly affectionate toward children of both sexes, and sick girls were treated just as well as sick sons. One of my Meau informants, M
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[123] for instance, had an eighteen-year-old daughter who had an especially sensitive skin which reacted to the prevalent scabies with a form of dermatitis. Her father repeatedly came to me, asked me to cure his daughter, and promised to give me anything I wanted.

b) Naming and Admission into the Family Community

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851 The solemn admission into the family community takes place among the Meau on the third day after the birth, not counting that day. Dhuraratsadorn (1) reports in this connection

1. Page 173.

that three to /52/ seven days after the birth a sacrificial festival is held for the spirits of the clouds. Presumably he is referring to the ceremony which I shall describe below on the basis of my own observations and experiences. Savina (1) describes the

1. II, p. 225.

ceremony somewhat differently: "Do not ask what the baby is called. It does not yet have a name. For the moment it is called 'the one who cries.' In the case of some tribes the nearest relatives come on the third day to greet the child and to give it a chicken and a cap. Coins, the teeth and claws of animals, and the like are often hung on these caps. The chickens

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During my visit to the Meau village of Nam Fa in northern Thailand I was asked by the Meau Tua Sen Kun to assume sponsorship for his newborn son (1). I was told that it

1. Bernatzik, IV, pp. 188 ff.

was regarded as an auspicious omen that I, a powerful foreigner, was present in the village at the time of the birth.

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As names for boys those of famous ancestors are preferred on the ground that boys continue the family. The child may also be given the name of the sponsor. For girls one chooses at will a name which, like all names, has a special meaning. A sharp distinction is made between names for boys and those for girls.

Names	Meaning
Boys: lū	pure
pǎu	surety, guarantor (2)

2. Cf. the chapter, "Law and the Administration of Justice," section on "Property Law."

tü	has everything
fō	to have many children to care for him
tsān	to grow
pān	to flourish
tsuñ	bud
Girls: tsāy	slender
yí	round
ltsay	fearful
t'ā	plain
māy	good
ltsōa	green leaf

Miao AES
Akha A04

/57 cont. /

Abadie (1), while discussing the carrying of burdens on the back,

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1. Page 160.

also mentions the child-carriers of the Meau: "This method of carrying loads is also used for small children, whom the women hoist on their backs, packed in a kind of bag that is held on the shoulders by means of two supports." Abadie published illustrations of this on Plates 39 and 40 of his work. There are no cradles.

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Among the Akha small children are cared for by the parents, among the Meau chiefly by the grandparents. Older siblings also devote much time to them and are often entrusted with the care of somewhat bigger children. From six to eight years of age they are taken into the children's group (see the section, "The Children's Group," in this chapter).

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In both tribes much time is devoted to the children. The mother attempts to teach her child a few words at an early age; she begins with the expression for father and mother. Thus, from a young age the child has continual social contact all day long. Accordingly the social components are more strongly developed than among European children of the same age. The situation is therefore nothing like what Lajonquière (2) writes

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2. II. p. 315.

about the children of the Meau: /58/ "They grow up without supervision and moral education, a prey to their instincts, and are forced into hard work in the fields as soon as their age permits them to do work."

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The children learn very early to distinguish between family and tribal members and persons who are foreign to the tribe. They are not bashful, but are very curious, and because of these qualities become very annoying to strangers after a brief acquaintanceship. On the other hand, they do not like to be watched while they go about their own business. Thus it came about that everywhere and in no time we were the focal point of the children, who crowded around us in droves and

Akha A05
Miao AEB

A /58 cont./

M watched us everywhere, while we had difficulty persuading them to continue their activities or their games in our presence. 857 Finally, we had no other choice but to make our observations. 123 as well as my Contax snapshots, with Zeiss-Tessar and Tele- [126] Tessar lenses from carefully prepared concealments, such as house walls with holes in them and the like, for as soon as we had disappeared from sight, the children went back to their usual activities or romped about.

1. Children at Play and Work

A As soon as the children have outgrown babyhood, their M activities during their free time are usually separated from 857 those of the adults. No one stimulates the children at play; at most they are watched with amusement, but never interfered with, and the play of children is by no means regarded as a useless activity. They are made to work, but during their free time they are allowed to do as they please.

The children of the Meau, as well as those of the Akha, are very fond of play and very active. They never loiter about; as a rule one can say that an inactive child is sick. Otherwise they are altogether enterprising and vivacious, and in this respect there is no change in the various stages of childhood.

M There are, to be sure, groups of boys and of girls, which I shall 834 come back to later on, but there is no strict separation among 857 the Meau; boys and girls often play together. This is the natural result of the fact that children, regardless of sex, must take care of their younger siblings. /59/ A seven-year-old boy, for example, takes care of his three-year-old sister, whom he carries about with him in the child-carrier, just as readily as a little girl takes care of her younger brother.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/87 cont. /

M told that the gibbons and monkeys, which animate the
 864 primeval forest in the neighborhood of the villages, put the
 [825] babies in the laps of the women. Thus, among the Meau,
 the apes occupy the position of our stork. The explanation
 of the facts of life is given to the children of the Meau at
 the time of puberty at the latest.

A Onanism, homosexuality, and other sexual perversions
 M are not found among either the Akha or the Meau. In most
 838 instances I did not even succeed in explaining these concepts
 839 to my informants, but when I did, they indignantly denied
 their occurrence, pointing out that the ancestors and spirits
 would prevent such perversions.

A Within the incest prohibitions, which apply not only
 M to marriage, but also to free love (see the section, "Marriage
 836 Obstacles and Regulations," in this chapter) and are strictly
 626 observed, since a violation, according to the belief of the
 [835] natives, would be immediately punished by the ancestors and
 [831] spirits, the choice of a partner is completely free for the young
 men, whereas public opinion, but not the young men them-
 selves, demands chastity of the girl. In practice, however,
 the demands of public opinion only result in secrecy, by boys
 as well as girls, about everything that is connected with sexual
 life.

A In the case of younger boys, the older girls take the
 M initiative by flirtation, at which they are masterfully adept.
 836 It often happens that a girl who teaches a young boy /88/ the
 [832] arts of love-making later on becomes his chief wife, since she
 [833] most likely will become pregnant. Older boys, on the other
 M hand, often assume the training of the young girls. We fre-
 832 quently had an opportunity to observe an open flirtation. My
 883 wife wrote about one such observation in her journal: "May,
 123 the chief's daughter, is probably about sixteen years old and is
 a typical 'teen-ager' in behavior. She giggles at the least
 thing or bursts into loud peals of laughter over a remark shouted
 at her by one of the boys. It is loudest, however, when several
 girls are assembled. They chatter and laugh so loudly and
 unrestrainedly, even when we are working nearby, that we are

AKha A04
Miao AES

/88 cont. /

M seriously disturbed. It is gayest when Bun Ma, our Lao
 832 interpreter, is visited in his camp by three or four girls together.
 883 Then there is no end of ringing laughter; it wakes us up in the
 123 morning and prevents us from falling asleep at night. They
 tease him about one of the girls, urge him to visit her because,
 they say, she is waiting for him, ask how the Lao make love,
 and so forth. Bun Ma, a slender, gracefully built Lao, feels
 himself very much the center of attention and declares that
 if they were not so dirty he would long since have made friends
 M with a Meau girl. As a matter of fact, the dirtiness of the
 [515] girls considerably disturbs the Lao, very much accustomed to
 cleanliness, though he is readily captivated by the pretty faces
 and the ingratiating nature of the girls. In the evening Bun Ma
 M sits in the house of the chief, and the girls teach him the love
 [533] songs of the Meau in their language, and even the old chief
 joins in and, turning toward Bun Ma with a smirk, sings in the
 same register as the girls and amid general laughter: 'Where
 do you stay so long, I am waiting for you!'

A That purely materialistic considerations play only a
 M minor role in the choice of a partner is shown by the fact that
 836 prostitution is unknown among both peoples and a girl never
 [548] yields to a man who is not congenial to her. To be sure, it is
 [431] customary for every young man to give his beloved a silver
 necklace, if he can afford it, while the girl in return gives him
 a beautiful batik cloth which she has made herself (see the
 chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments"); these gifts are /Ills. 22-
 25 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /89/ exchanged as a
 matter-of-course and incidentally after the pleasures of love
 have been enjoyed, and no girl is going to deny herself to a
 young man who is unable to give her an ornament, if she likes
 him otherwise. A girl is never influenced in the choice of her
 partner by the prospect of receiving an ornament afterward.

M In contrast to my observations, Abadie (1) writes

1. Page 167.

concerning the Meau: "Even cases of prostitution are reported,
 without its casting the slightest dishonor upon those concerned..."

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/106 cont./

A daughter is provided with new clothing, a beautiful cotton
585 blanket, and a chopping knife for the celebration by her parents;
583 the parents, however, withhold the rich silver ornaments that
[301] she wore as a girl, for it is up to the husband to provide orna-
ments for his wife. If the bride's parents are wealthy, however,
and want to do something more for their daughter, they slaughter
a pig, pack the head and the two hind legs in a carrying basket,
and give all this to the daughter to take along on the way while
the rest of the meat remains in the house of the girl's parents
and is eaten there.

A The bride is called for by the emissaries of the bridegroom.
585 and is solemnly led to the dwelling of her father-in-law. The
union of the young couple does not take place immediately
after the wedding, but only after thirteen days. A religious
[784] taboo is involved here, and the Akha believe that if it is
[776] violated the spirits would take revenge. After this period the
[343] young couple meet at night in a small house built for this pur-
[591] pose in the vicinity of the large dwelling house. During the day,
however, the young people stay in the house of the father of the
young husband, in whose community they live.

A After the wedding no other man but the husband has any
[837] rights whatever to the wife with regard to sex.

A /107/ Among the Akha, too, poor people are usually
595 monogamous; only chiefs or very wealthy men keep several
[554] wives, five or six at the most. Polygamy therefore likewise
[583] prevails among the Akha. Other forms of marriage, such as
[837] trial or temporary marriage, polyandry or group marriage, as
well as promiscuity in marriage, are unknown.

M Among the Akha as well as among the Meau the wife is
593 the property of the husband. No marriage contract is concluded,
[585] and no other rights are guaranteed to her. The husband can
even beat his wife, but my informant cautiously added to this

A information: "If she will stand for it." I learned among the
[593] Meau that this is by no means an empty phrase. One day a

M young, strong woman about twenty-two years old, with whom
• [123] we had become friends, came weeping into our camp. She

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/107 cont. /

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123 had had a dispute with her husband and had fled for a few days to the house of her parents, who did not want to let her go again because they were sick and urgently needed their daughter as a worker. They wanted the daughter and the son-in-law to live with them a while. The latter, however, did not approve of this at all and heaped reproaches upon his wife. When I sent my interpreter to the husband, a young man barely eighteen years old, in order to get his version of the story, he complained bitterly and said: "This woman is too strong for me. If we have a quarrel, she beats me! Look, you are big and strong; you could beat her. Would you not like to marry her?"

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[627] With the help of the chief the dispute was finally settled in the peaceable manner of the Meau: the young woman returned to her husband, but from now on was allowed to help her parents with the work as often as they wished.

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[606] The position of young Meau wives has been strongly influenced by the Chinese and from our point of view is not very enviable. She has to show unquestioning obedience, first of all to her mother-in-law, secondly to her own husband, and thirdly to her father-in-law. If her husband has already married several wives, she must also obey all of them, as has already been mentioned. The only prospect she has is that eventually, when her husband has built his own house /108/ and the other wives who preceded her have died, she may occupy the coveted position of the nă thŭ. As soon as her husband has built his own house, the position of the young wife improves, for at that moment her obligation to obey her mother-in-law ceases. In view of the aforementioned compatibility of the Meau within the family community, however, the members of a household community generally get along very well. Unhappy wives are rare. I am inclined to say much rarer than in Europe. The daily work required in the struggle for survival leaves the people little time to worry about superfluous matters.

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[422] Among the Akha, although the mother-in-law does not play such an important role in the life of the young woman, the first and therefore the chief wife of a husband enjoys all the more authority. All the wives wedded later must obey her unquestioningly; all the household furnishings, and sometimes

/157 cont. /

771 Under these circumstances I deemed it especially im-
 114 portant to investigate the religious element of the Meau with the
 utmost care. I shall deal with the activities of the Christian
 missions in a special section of the chapter on "Cultural Change
 and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain
 Peoples in Thailand." Before dealing with the native religious
 elements of the Meau, I must point out that at first it was
 difficult to penetrate into the spiritual culture of the Meau.
 The Meau, to be sure, do not hesitate to perform their incanta-
 tions and sacrifices in the presence of strangers, but they do
 maintain secrecy about certain things, especially concerning
 religion, before persons who do not belong to the community.
 Chance and some knowledge of medicine helped me probe
 more deeply into features of the sacral life of the Meau.

● 123 Lü, the third son of the chief Tsai Tsai, became sick.
 [753] His father took heart and came to me, bemoaning the fate of
 [774] his son. According to Meau opinion, his soul had gone wander-
 ing and was prevented from returning by evil spirits. The
 efforts of the shamans had been in vain. I was easily able to
 [164] determine that the sick Lü had tropical malaria, a fatal sick-
 ness for the Meau. I told the chief that many little evil spirits
 had entered his son's body and were sucking out the red blood.
 Under /158/ these circumstances it was not surprising that the
 soul did not dare to return to the body. He should once more
 ask the shaman to try his incantations, and I, too, would call
 on my spirits, firmly convinced that our combined efforts would
 be crowned with success. -- The shaman came and declared
 himself willing to undertake the experiment. After the cere-
 mony, which I describe in detail in the section, "Magic,
 Soothsaying, and Interpretation of Omens" in this chapter, I
 treated the patient for malaria, which cured him of his affliction.
 Through this I won the sincere gratitude of the chief, and
 since I had declared that the shaman's assistance was absolutely
 necessary for the patient's recovery, he, too, was well disposed
 toward me. Hence everybody supported me in every conceivable
 way in my investigations, and I was able to penetrate more
 and more deeply into the spiritual culture of the Meau.

/179 cont. /

752 attention and is interpreted. It is a shorter or longer time before
 787 he again awakes from the trance state, depending on how hard
 a struggle is required in his fight against the evil spirits. In
 easy cases, he immediately returns to consciousness, but it may
 take a day or longer before he awakens. It is striking that, even
 after the shaman has regained normal consciousness, he remem-
 bers everything that the spirits said to him.

[782] Aside from the sacrifices for the spirits that have to be
 made in the presence of the shaman, there are five things in-
 cluded among the obligations of the shaman: 1. as in the case
 [755] described, he has to cure sicknesses by exorcising the evil spirits
 to whom their origin is traced, 2. he must predict the future,
 especially with regard to whether some work that has been under-
 taken will be accompanied by success or misfortune, 3. he in-
 terprets omens and 4. dreams which a person is unable to explain
 [789] himself, 5. he must make charms and sacral signs (Ill. 97).
 [755] As compensation for his work, he receives a piece of silver for
 614 cases of serious illness, but if the sick person is a member of the
 465 sib of the shaman, nothing is paid. The prediction of the future
 or of success or misfortune costs only about a quarter /180/ of this
 amount, as does the interpretation of omens. In lieu of silver
 money, food, opium, cloth, and the like may be given.

123 As was briefly mentioned at the beginning of this chapter,
 755 Lü, the third son of the chief Tsin Tsai, was sick. His worried
 father complained to me that Lü, his good son, had lost his
 soul, which had left his body. The shaman had already tried
 twice to call it back, but in vain. I heard the plea for help in
 the words of the distressed father, and moreover I knew that
 several days before Lü had followed a wounded gaur deep into
 the malaria-ridden lowlands and had even spent the night there.
 My diagnosis was therefore made quickly, and an examination
 confirmed my suspicion. Lü had tropical malaria. I was equally
 anxious to help the worried father and to justify the confidence
 of the chief, which he was at the same time. Moreover, I did
 [126] not want to lower the shaman's prestige by my success, but

1 [see cat 116, p663 - ANALYST]

/180 cont. /

123 rather hoped to gain his friendship completely and not only
 755 observe the course of the ceremony, but, if possible, record it
 [124] with my Contax. I asked the chief to persuade the shaman to
 make another attempt and promised to link my efforts with his.
 I would set up my apparatus and hoped, with the help of the
 smoke of my flash bulbs, to conjure up my spirits and to enlist
 their help in saving Lü.

This gave my wife and me the opportunity to observe in
 detail the activity of all the participants in such a ceremony.

755 At about eleven o'clock the shaman came and asked for a
 782 small amount of opium, which he began to smoke, while in the
 [276] house the preparations for the ceremony were made. An altar
 (Figs. 41 and 43) was erected for the teacher-spirit of the shaman
 and the three pairs of assistants, and a bench was placed in front
 of it, over which a cover was spread so that the shaman would
 have a soft seat. Soon afterwards, a small vessel with incense
 [354] candles stood on the altar. A small fat-burning lamp of brass was
 polished, filled with lard, and lighted, for the spirits need light,
 just as human beings do. There was rice on green leaves, roasted
 maize kernels on others, and a porcelain bowl filled with water
 stood ready, as well as a large quantity of spirit-money with a
 spirit-valve of thousands of pieces of silver (Fig. 46 to Fig. 50).
 755 Then the house was swept clean, and directly /181/ behind the
 787 bench in front of the altar a fireplace was erected, with which
 all was ready for the conjuration.

Beside this fireplace, the patient, the eldest son of the
 chief, and the latter himself now take their places, while the
 other members of the household, who have gradually assembled,
 stay in the back of the room. The shaman steps in front of the
 [782] altar decorated with spirit-paper, lights four incense candles
 for his teacher-spirit and the latter's assistant spirits, and sets
 out for them four small bowls of tea and as many of rice. He
 then picks up a small bronze gong, to which are fastened two
 bundles of cloth strips (Fig. 30). The red signifies that menstru-
 [822] ating women, the black that those who have given birth and
 [841] have not yet menstruated, are neither to be present nor to see
 the instrument, for otherwise the spirits would not let themselves
 be conjured.

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/185 cont. /

755 corners. Then the chief burns the sacrificial money again in order to drive out the evil spirit in this way also.

Another hour passes without anything special happening. During this time the shaman continues his conjurations and rhythmical movements without interruption. Then at last he removes the black cloth from his face and with this the conjura-
[787] tions come to an end. He is bathed in sweat. Nevertheless he picks up the oracle horns in order to ascertain whether the ceremony has had the desired result. Next he passes his magic rattle around the light and around the incense candles on the altar and thanks his teacher-spirit and the assistant spirits. With the patient between them, the chief and the eldest son step before the altar, bow to the ground with folded hands, and thank the spirits and the shaman for their help.

• [123] I subsequently actually cured the patient with plasmochin and atabrine.

756 Other authors have also mentioned the shaman and his activities according to their own attitudes and the regions visited. Baron von Eickstedt, for instance, impressively describes a ceremony with a shaman, and Savina (1) remarks on this subject:

1. II. p. 257.

[596] "In everyday life the head of the family maintains relations with the world of spirits. Only on solemn occasions are the shamans called in. They are at the same time priests, physicians, magicians, soothsayers, and diviners. As priests they appear
756 only at burials and in time of war. When someone dies, the
764 txi neng is called immediately. When he arrives, he dresses the corpse and arranges everything in the house: the time when people are to weep or play the creng (mouth organ) or beat the
[782] drum. He also says how many buffalo or cattle are to be slaughtered. He recites before the dead the old traditions about the creation of human beings, death, ascension, /186/ and judgment. When the ceremonies are over, the corpse is put on a bed of state outside. At the moment when the last buffalo is slaughtered, the shaman takes the rope and places it between

/191 cont. /

787

If a Meau dreams that his house is on fire or that he is fleeing, it bodes ill fortune for the inhabitants of the house in which the sleeper is resting. It is likewise unfavorable to dream of tigers or an inundation. Misfortune is likewise imminent if in a dream a tree, a horse, or a cow falls.

If in a dream one sees people engaged in pounding rice, /192/ then all depends on the color of the rice. If it is white, it is regarded as a good omen, whereas black rice is regarded as a bad omen.

Special good luck is indicated by dreams in which one sees a hen with many chicks or people in new clothes, or shallow water, or if one dreams that a new year has begun.

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Besides the attention given to the omens described and others, and to dreams and soothsaying, an oracle /Ordal, literally "ordeal," but used here in the sense of "oracle"/ is also consulted among the Meau, as was described above in connection with the conjurations by the shaman in the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section on "Naming and Admission into the Family Community."

[123]

It will be recalled that in every case my presence in the village, as that of an influential stranger, was regarded as a good omen, and, after the oracle had been consulted, I was asked to be the sponsor of the newborn little boy. At that time, the chicken oracle was used, whose procedure I have already described. If the skin on the head of one or both animals of the sacrificed pair of chickens had been black or spotted black, if the hyoid bones of one of the animals had not been parallel or if the chickens' toes had not run together toward the front, but instead had stood out sideways, especially the first or third toe, everybody would have been convinced that the ancestors would not be able to protect the child against the evil spirits that were present and that these would have to be exorcised before the child could be received into the family community. On the other hand, if two of the omens had been good and one bad, this would have been regarded as a warning sign, indicating that great caution was needed. In such case any stranger would have been denied entry into the house of the newborn baby. Thus, as this witnessed example indicates, among the Meau there is a direct connection between

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/192 cont. /

787 general omens and those of the oracle. The oracle with the pair of chickens is used not only in connection with the birth of a child, but also on other occasions, and it has the advantage that from the combination of its omens one can see not only the good and the bad aspects, but also to what extent human beings will be able to intervene and avert evil.

[125] The greatest importance is ascribed to oracles. The belief in the reliability of omens and oracles is so /193/ extensive that the Meau literally do not undertake anything without consulting the spirits and immediately give up any plan in case of an unfavorable answer. When I asked a female shaman to draw something for me on the sheet of paper that I provided for my psychological investigations, she laid out an oracle to learn from her teacher-spirit whether and what she should draw! Only then did she take my sheet of paper and draw.

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787 Once every year some Chinese traders (see the chapter, "Trade") visit the remote and widely scattered Meau villages in order to do business by selling goods that they bring along and by buying various products of the Meau. On these occasions it not infrequently happens that all the trouble and expense on the part of the traders has been in vain, even though the Meau for their part would have been happy to do business with them. Before any trading, however, the oracle is invariably consulted, for no Meau is going to sell pigs or opium or buy silver without first consulting the spirits. If the oracle predicts an unfavorable outcome, the Chinese trader has no choice but to leave the village without having transacted any business; his long and arduous journey with porters was in vain, for he can do nothing to induce the Meau to change their minds.

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[787] Even I had to submit to the verdict of the oracle, if I could not find a convincing way out. For example, Chief Tsin Tsai, whose son Lü had regained his health through my plasmochin-atabrine treatment after the conjuration, had put me under his special protection out of gratitude. Tsin Tsai was an excellent and passionate hunter. When I noticed that he was annoyed by our constant questioning or our requests for food, I proposed to [324] him, the best gunsmith for miles around, by the way, that we

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/193 cont. /

- 123 go hunting together, and immediately Tsin Tsai was again
224 favorably disposed toward me. We would set out to hunt ele-
[322] phants, gaur, and other big game which, with his primitive guns,
[411] he was able to kill only at the risk of his life. His passion for
hunting was so great that, even at the time of the harvest, he
would drop everything in order to accept my invitation. Need-
less to say, Tsin Tsai also knew how to handle the crossbow, the
[411] most important and favorite weapon of the Meau, or poisoned
arrows, with which any game can be brought down. My high-
power rifle, /194/ however, aroused general admiration, and
Tsin Tsai in particular could not get his fill of looking at it; he
repeatedly picked it up and stroked it lovingly.

The Meau are familiar with the habits of game to a re-
markable degree, naturally far more so than we Europeans. Just
as I always deferred to the natives while hunting in the tropics,
here, too I followed the instructions of the bold Meau hunters.
They know the weather and the wind directions in relation to the
haunts of the game; they are familiar with the scarce sources
of salt in the primeval forest, which are regularly visited by all
the wild animals; they know whether and at what time of the
day or night the various species of animals seek out the waterholes
or the salt licks; they deduce from the tracks of a wounded ani-
mal when it will take cover; in a word, they know the answers
to all the questions that are involved in success for a hunter in
the primeval forest.

123 Chief Tsin Tsai in particular was able to answer the most
224 incredible questions. After a short time I myself relied com-
787 pletely upon what he said. In order to be able to judge the ex-
tent of the knowledge possessed by this excellent hunter, I con-
stantly posed new and more difficult questions, which neverthe-
less were always answered. When I tried, as far as possible,
to verify his statements, I soon, to my surprise, found contradic-
tions and inaccuracies. Finally, however, this inexplicable situa-
tion was clarified for me, when I discovered Tsin Tsai engaged
in having my questions answered by the spirits by means of
oracles! Apparently the spirits were less well informed about the
living habits of the animals than the living Meau were!

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/194 cont. /

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787 As far as I was concerned, the situation was difficult if not actually perilous if I wanted to remain on good terms with the Meau. I could not contradict the spirits and had to follow their orders, which were transmitted to me through the mouth of the chief. Hence it was of utmost importance for me to become thoroughly familiar with the pertinent customs of the Meau. One day Tsin Tsai asked me to accompany him on a gaur hunt. A Meau had wounded a splendid old gaur, but was afraid, and very justifiably so, as I soon discovered, to track down this solitary beast in the difficult terrain. Therefore, /195/ he stopped the pursuit, returned to the village, and reported the facts to the chief. A few hours later, we, the chief, my interpreter, and I, were standing at the spot of the shooting. We had no difficulty in finding the path of flight of the heavy animal. We followed it until it led into an impenetrable thicket, which, as dense secondary growth, covered a rice field abandoned some six years earlier.

With our chopping knives we laboriously started cutting our way through the thicket and could not see two meters ahead. Added to that, the wind changed direction every few minutes. Under these circumstances tracking down an old, as well as wounded, solitary animal was tantamount to suicide. To judge by the trail which led up a steep hillside, it was highly improbable that the animal had died, but, on the other hand, reasonably certain that sooner or later we would be attacked by the wounded buffalo, without being able to parry such an attack by the wounded animal even halfway successfully at this short distance without having the shot pass out of the animal's body.

From the viewpoint of the hunter, Tsin Tsai had evidently committed an error, which surprised me. I drew his attention to the dangers that surrounded us. Tsin Tsai calmly confirmed my observations, but nevertheless held the opinion that, in spite of everything, no danger could threaten us, and, indeed, we were certain to be successful, for he had consulted the spirits by means of the oracle and had even sacrificed a pig to them before we set out, and all the omens had been favorable! Naturally, I could not call the spirits liars, much less question their power. On the

[782]

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/195 cont./

123 other hand, I had no desire to pursue such a hopeless affair for
224 which I was not responsible. Only strategy could help. Amiably
987 I turned to Tsin Tsai: "Your spirits were right. I, too, however,
questioned my hunting spirit. He told me that he would have
to go up into the clouds and therefore could not assist me. He
advises me therefore to stop the pursuit." The chief understood
this immediately. The hunt was immediately called off, and
without protest we were able to start back, for Tsin Tsai had no
intention of exposing me to danger.

/196/ Another time -- but by no means always -- I was
successful in using my influence to overcome bothersome hin-
drances which the oracle made for us. One day, I could not do
any ethnographic fieldwork because my informants were not
available. I therefore wanted to go hunting with a Meau, who
for his part was very much in favor of my proposal. Beforehand,
however, he wanted to consult the oracle as to whether the
undertaking planned should be done at this time. Naturally, I
feared difficulties again, but I quickly found a way out. I re-
minded the Meau that he had just laid out the oracle a few days
before and that the spirits had told him that we would kill the
gaur which I now wished to hunt. The spirits would certainly
be annoyed by his asking again. Fortunately that satisfied my
Meau; he gave up the oracle and set out with me.

I myself, however, tried to obtain answers through the
oracle of the Meau, in order to familiarize myself in every way
with their ideas. In one case I wanted to know whether I would
have a chance to shoot a certain old bull elephant whose haunt
was known to me and to the chief. The chief lighted a fire,
burned three pieces of the spirit-money which he carried with
him, whittled three small bamboo sticks, and held them be-
tween the thumb and index finger of his right hand. Then he
drew them through the fire several times, held them up toward
the sky, and, while these preparations were going on, began
conjuring the great Father-Mother spirit. He informed him that
[782] he had sacrificed spirit-money and asked for answers to the fol-
lowing questions: Whether the bull elephant was occupying its
usual haunt at the present time, whether I would be able to shoot it,

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123 and whether, after the shot, we would be able to get the booty.
224 With each question, Tsin Tsai pointed to one of the sticks in
787 order to communicate to the spirit in this way the significance
of each stick. He then bent each stick with his thumb nail at
intervals of about three centimeters, until he finally held all of
them in his hand in the manner shown in Ill. 98² as triangles and
scrutinized them carefully. The position of the upper side of the
first stick which stood for the haunt of the bull elephant, was
horizontal, which indicated the unchanged position, that is, the
unchanged /197/ haunt of the bull. If the point of this side had
been turned away from the sacrificer, it would have meant that
the bull had moved away. The point of the second stick, which
was supposed to answer the question regarding the shot, was
turned toward the sacrificer, which meant an affirmative answer.
The reverse position would have indicated that I would not have
a chance to shoot. The upper side of the third stick was likewise
turned toward the sacrificer, thus this question, too, was answered
affirmatively, and we could therefore count on seizing the game.

We eagerly set out on the hunt. We actually found the bull
in its haunt, and we stalked it until we were about 20 paces from
it. Through the bush I repeatedly saw the outlines of the enormous
gray mass. Only once, however, for a fraction of a second would
I have been able to fire a fatal shot. Under these circumstances
I could not make up my mind to follow the advice of the chief,
who actually trembling with buck fever, demanded, with refer-
ence to the predicted outcome, that I shoot at the bull through
the tangle of vegetation. The giant animal escaped unharmed
when the wind turned for a moment and carried our scent to him.
Thus at the last moment I failed to put the oracle to a definite test,
but it seemed wiser to me to trust my hunter's instinct.

On another occasion we discovered a salt spring in the
primeval forest, which, of course, was the meeting place for
much game. After I had shot a fine gaur, however, the rest of
the game seemed to have been blown away. Tsin Tsai decided
to consult the high Father-Mother spirit about our further hunting
prospects and set up his stick oracle, conducting his ceremonial
performance in the same way as previously described. This

1 [See cat 116, p 663 - ANALYST]

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123 time he used seven sticks since he directed the following seven
224 questions to the great Father-Mother spirit: whether we had a
787 chance 1. to shoot tigers, 2. elephants, 3. buffalo, 4. deer;
5. whether the old bull elephant that we had pursued in vain
into the thicket several days ago still remained at the same
location, 6. whether a splendid old gaur that traveled alone and
stayed in the thickets of abandoned rice fields in the vicinity of
our Meau village could be slain by us; 7. my interpreter asked
whether his wife and his newborn baby /198/ were doing well.
As may be seen, the questions were posed in such a way that the
answer had to be either yes or no.

Tsin Tsai now took the sticks one by one, bent them with
his thumbnail ten or eleven times at intervals of about three
centimeters, and left one side of each stick about ten centimeters
long without bending. Then he took all the sticks into his left
hand and folded them into triangles. Once again the answers
given us by the great Father-Mother spirit were shown by the
position of the upper side of the triangle and the tips. A horizontal
position meant "situation unchanged"; if the tip of the triangle
was directed toward the conjurer, it was taken as affirmative;
if it was turned away from him, it was taken as negative.

Again we examined the oracle sticks and learned from them
the following answers: Tigers, elephants, and buffalo have moved
far away. Deer have remained and can be hunted since the other
omens are not unfavorable. The old bull elephant: likewise
"situation unchanged." He has therefore returned and is again
occupying his station from which we pursued it in vain some days
previously. The interpreter's question was also answered: his wife
and child were doing well. The chief added that the wife was
sleeping badly because she was worried about her husband. His
son was thinking of him -- my informants put it in a rather charm-
ing way: "His soul is hopping to the father."

The answers to all six of the questions posed by me coin-
cided fully with my own assumptions. Hence I had no objections
to complying with them. This time, too, however, I could not
test their correctness, for, although we did shoot deer, we did
not have time to wait for the return of other big game, and I

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M could not take the time to check whether or not they were
 • 123 actually to be found in their haunts. Moreover, such an attempt
 224 would very obviously have shown distrust of the oracle. Much
 777 later we learned that the interpreter's wife had actually been
 worried about her husband. We had stayed in the primeval forest
 area much longer than was originally intended and had all been
 given up for lost.

A The Akha, too, believe that there are human beings who
 756 are born with supernatural faculties, but, in contrast to the
 /199/ Meau, know far fewer people of this kind. Accordingly,
 the latter are regarded as much more powerful than they are
 A among the Meau. These people are the chief shamans, called
 [634] tūmō. Every tūmō stands over many villages, and if one remem-
 [621] bers that the villages of the Akha embrace several hundred
 houses, the importance of the tūmō becomes obvious.

A The ordinary shaman is called būbā among the Akha. This
 [622] office often coincides with that of the chief. Aside from this,
 however, the būbā plays a comparatively larger role than the
tūmō, because in every village there lives a būbā, who is far
 more intimately connected with his village community than
 the tūmō is with the villages under him.

A Both the tūmō and the būbā are mediators between the
 756 spirits and human beings. The būbā has to offer the regular
 778 sacrifices to the spirits, and furthermore, above all, he has to
 [776] take care of the spirit of the swing and the guardian spirit.
 Accordingly, he is in charge of the management and upkeep
 of the sacral gates. Also, the wooden idols beside the sacral
 gates (Ill. 48) are carved at his command by men of the village
 chosen by him, who also decorate the gates newly erected
 every year, while the old gates gradually disintegrate. This
 A custom made it easy for us to ascertain how many years previously
 [174] a village had been founded. One need only count the number
 of gates at the entrance to the village.

1 [see cat 116, p333 - ANALYST]

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784 One of the taboos of the Meau is that it is inadvisable to
 262 set foot in places inhabited by spirits. It is expressly forbidden
 [776] to eat the meat of the large black squirrel. Anyone who violates
 this taboo will die immediately, according to the belief of the
 Meau. Lajonquière (1) speaks of a prohibition against eating horse

1. II. p. 303.

[231] meat. There is no such taboo among the Meau in Thailand. To
 be sure, the Meau investigated by me did not raise any horses
 [782] at all. In answer to my question, however, I was told that as a
 rule horses are not used as sacrificial animals and are eaten only
 in exceptional cases, because horses are too rare and therefore
 too valuable to be slaughtered.

272 Furthermore, among the taboos there is the prohibition
 784 against ever drinking the milk of any animal. I was shown how
 825 strictly every taboo is generally observed by an incident that I
 123 experienced, because in the course of time I had made such a
 name for myself among the Meau as a doctor that people came
 to me from afar in order to have me treat them or give them
 medicine. Among those who came to me seeking to be cured,
 there was a Meau mother who did not have enough milk for her
 baby. The child, about two months old, was already starved,
 and /213/ all the Meau, including the mother, were aware of
 this. In spite of many proofs of their confidence in me and in
 spite of the almost incredible love of the Meau for their chil-
 dren, I did not succeed in persuading the Meau to permit me to
 give the baby cow's milk. Even the child's mother could not be
 persuaded, although there was a milk cow available and I made
 it quite clear that the baby was otherwise doomed to certain
 death. The child did soon die of undernourishment.

123 On another occasion I found the wife of a chief among my
 262 patients. She asked me to examine her and was convinced that
 [846] she suffered from an abdominal ailment, for, as she told me,
 [164] full of remorse, she had violated the taboo that women in
 [626] childbed are forbidden to eat meat for one month after the
 birth of the child. She now believed that the spirits were
 punishing her for the transgression. An examination of this sick

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123 woman showed that she was suffering from hookworms, which
 262 could easily be cured.

[164] I have already mentioned the taboo which comes into ef-
 784 fect, in case of a death in a village, for the village community
 765 as well as for the mourners and especially for the family whose
 [262] member has died. Food prohibitions are not tied in with death,
 [834] but after the death of a woman, the children and the widower
 have to refrain from sexual intercourse for one year whereas
 after the death of the husband, widows are subject to this
 commandment for only one week.

834 Marabail (1) reports of the Meau in Tonkin that after the

846

1. Page 451.

birth of a child the parents may not have sexual intercourse with
 each other.

835 The incest taboo is observed very strictly among the Meau
 in Thailand. It is forbidden for young blood-relatives of the op-
 posite sex to stand together or to look or smile at each other.

Since, as I stated earlier, any Meau man to whom a girl offers
 [273] a glass of alcohol views this, according to custom, as an invita-
 [832] tion, it is strictly forbidden for girls /214/ to serve alcohol or
 even to drink to men against whom the marriage prohibition
 applies for them.

533 In the fields of the so musically inclined Meau, one does
 461 not hear singing during the work or during rests, because this
 784 would violate a taboo. It is believed to be certain that non-
 [626] observance would bring a misfortune, that one of the workers
 would be hurt, either by a tool or by part of a falling tree.

784 Just as the Meau in their cult practices do not in general
 [177] want to borrow anything from the pertinent customs of the
 other peoples living around them, so are the many prohibitions
 of the Chinese unknown to them or ignored. On the other hand
 great significance is attached to every native taboo. Every
 taboo is in force for the entire life of the individual as well
 as for the whole tribe; the only exceptions are taboos that are
 [756] limited in time, which are automatically lifted after the

/342 cont. /

224 animal victim, such as an imitation of the "piping" of a mouse and the like.

Whereas for stalking firearms are used as a rule, in ambush the Meau prefer the noiseless crossbow with the effective poisoned bolts.

How skilled the Meau are as hunters was revealed at my very first meeting with them. Later, besides my medical [123] knowledge, it was precisely my hunting ability that was decisive for the success of my ethnographic work, even though it was considerably inferior to that of some of the Meau. For example, one of my informants, a man of about forty-five, 224 had bagged a great deal of game with his primitive weapons 434 during his lifetime, which also affected him economically. 556 He had killed more than 20 elephants, and for the ivory of [430] each of them he was paid 200 to 400 ticals by the Chinese [435] traders. Since one only needs to add 10 per cent to arrive at the amount in marks, that amounts to 220 to 440 marks /343/ for each tusk. Moreover, he had killed two rhinoceros, each of which brought him 800 ticals. Considerable sums had likewise flowed in to him for buffalo horns and stag antlers, whose number he no longer knew because he had killed so many of these animals. This is immediately understandable if one remembers that the Thailanders and especially the [439] Chinese pay a thousand ticals for the first growth of the horns [435] of a stag in its second year /for the horns of the Kolbenhirsch/, because it is regarded as a precious aphrodisiac. Even though the traders undoubtedly gained many times this amount, nevertheless such proceeds from hunting booty are of great importance. My informant had this to thank for being able to [595] buy three wives. Apart from the material side, however, such success in hunting, considering the situation with regard to game in northern Thailand, represents a prodigious hunting accomplishment which a European with precision rifles could scarcely match, whereas my informant had only his primitive weapons at his disposal.

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/463 cont./

152 Emotions are readily apparent among the Meau. When a woman told us that three years ago her three sons had died of cholera within a few days, tears came into her eyes and she sobbed violently, though she was trying to master her emotions.

152 We were often able to observe how tenderly the Meau
734 care for their sick. For example, a shaman had a completely paralyzed son about 22 years of age, who, however, was very active mentally. During the very first days of our stay, the old man carried his son on his back into our camp to ask me for help and healing. When I explained to him the hopelessness of the situation -- it was a case of progressive paralysis -- tears ran down his cheeks. Indeed, he had already so often beseeched his ancestors for help and offered them many sacrifices in vain. Nevertheless from then on the Meau always carried his son into our camp whenever I had some business with him, and tenderly laid him down near us so that he could participate in our conversations and thus be diverted.

156 The Meau are good-natured and companionable. In
123 this connection I recall with what matter-of-fact hunting comradeship one Meau relieved me of my gun and rucksack and loaded them on his own back when he saw that, under the burden, I could scarcely keep up with his rapid pace in the steep thicket.

• 123 /464/ The Meau are almost excessively polite, without
577 any influence on this behavior by materialistic mental reservations. Their innate politeness sometimes leads the Meau to little "white lies," which, however, according to their conception, are not regarded as lies. I had with me a white goat which was supposed to serve as tiger bait and had given it to the Meau to pasture in the maize fields. One day a Meau came to me and said: "Your goat seems to be sick. It has a wound in the stomach and has no appetite. I think that it will soon die." I, of course, had the goat brought to me immediately. It only had the skin on its stomach scratched a bit, and otherwise the animal was completely healthy. Later on it turned out that it had been in the way of the Meau during their harvesting.

/484 cont. /

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556 The Meau are not greedy. In spite of their hard life, money and property play a less important role than the lives of human beings. In reply to my question, "If your house were on fire, what would you save first?" I repeatedly received the answer from the Negro peoples, and from the Akha, too, for that matter: "My money" or "My ornaments." The Meau, on the other hand, said without thinking twice: "First the people, and last of all the cash."

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435 The behavior of the Meau who accompanied me into the valleys was interesting. As a people with little talent for business, and in addition without any opportunity to compare the prices which are offered or demanded of them by the migratory traders who seek out their villages, they now saw in the valley cities the same commodities offered at prices which amounted to only a fraction of those that they were accustomed to paying the traders. Nevertheless, no buying mania seized the Meau. They bought only articles that they had carefully considered beforehand, especially yam, copper kettles, blue cloth for making men's clothing, and, in only one case, under the first impact of the uprooting, a Japanese man's shirt. When they thought that they had covered their needs, the rest of their money was carefully put away, and they immediately decided to acquire wives for their sons with it in their homeland.

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[123] It was obvious to us that we owed them, whose hospitality we had enjoyed in the mountains, maintenance during these days. For every handful of rice they repeatedly thanked us, though they /485/ must have regarded our hospitality as a matter of course. No wanderer, even a stranger to the tribe, will ask in vain for lodging or food in a Meau village. The Nordic proverb, "Nobody roams through Lappland's mountains without being hungry," could be exactly reversed: "Everybody roams through the forested mountains of the Meau well fed." To be sure, for the European it should be added that for our taste the food of the Lapps, for example, salted coffee with cut-up reindeer cheese or dried raw reindeer meat and the like, is not particularly agreeable or to our taste, whereas the food of the Meau is often not only tasty, but altogether wholesome.

/465 cont. /

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574 We experienced this hospitality of the Meau on several occasions. For example, when I visited one Meau village, the chief was absent. Nevertheless, his son provided me generously with all kinds of foodstuffs, though the harvest had not yet begun and the Meau themselves were therefore very short of food supplies, and my wife and I, as well as my porters and accompanying persons, represented a crowd of people who needed a great deal. When the chief returned from hunting after about eight days, I wanted to pay for everything, but he declined: "You are the first Whites to visit my village. I am glad that my people were in a position to give you hospitality, and I would never accept any compensation for something that is taken for granted." He was not to be dissuaded from this viewpoint.

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648 The attitude of the Meau toward the Yumbri (Phi Tong Luang) is likewise typical. These shy nomads of the primeval forest, who lead their primitive existence in the forests colonized by the Meau, who are regarded by the Lao, Tin, Kamuk, and the other neighboring peoples as evil spirits, are murdered or are cheated and exploited in the most brutal ways, and whose fear of other people therefore knows no bounds, have confidence only in the Meau. The latter do not take advantage of their superiority over the primitives and grant them protection, help, and even shelter at the warming fireplace, when they knock at their doors, hungry and drenched by the rain, and offer their scanty forest products in exchange for rice or meat. The special hospitality of the Meau is mentioned by many authors, /466/ for example, [152] by Savina (1) and Abadie (2). At any rate, it shows how little

1. II, pp. 189 and 232.

2. Page 151.

greedy the Meau are.

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/466 cont. /

576 The maintenance of good manners is observed in a way
 [514] that we found very pleasant. It is regarded as indecent to per-
 [264] form one's private functions before others, to break wind, or to
 [832] belch during meals, and as impossible to spit during meals.
 [521] Furthermore, it is regarded as improper to exchange caresses in
 [602] public or to be seen doing so, or to converse about sexual matters.
 [562] Thus, it is not permissible for a young man to divulge the name
 [609] of the girl whose love he has enjoyed, or to conduct erotic
 [123] conversations before relatives. Moreover, it is not proper for
 women to appear before strangers. They are not to be seen at
 all in the presence of visitors, and it took a long time before
 the women and girls of the Meau abandoned their reserve toward
 us.

574 Visitors, on the other hand, violate good manners if
 576 they enter a house immediately. They must first announce their
 presence outside and await an invitation by a male occupant.
 Only if no men, but only women are present may the visitor
 enter immediately. On the other hand, in contrast to so many
 peoples, it is quite in keeping with good form if a guest inquires
 about the wife and children of the host. As has already been
 pointed out (see the chapter, "Food and Stimulants," the section,
 [562] "Food"), the family members eat together as a rule, but in no
 case the women before the men, since that is regarded as im-
 proper. The young girls also wait at the table for what is left
 over for them.

[264] At common meals for both sexes, nothing is changed
 when a single good friend of the family eats with them. Only
 then the guest, along with the family, has to observe a series
 of rules likewise mentioned previously. For example, a man
 [273] may not drink to the health of a strange woman or of a female
 against whom there are incest prohibitions, just as it is likewise
 [832] generally prohibited for girls to pour alcohol for a young man,
 if they do not wish to express an unmistakable invitation by it.
 This also applies to married women who therefore may pour
 brandy only for their husbands. In this connection, the taboo
 regulations /467/ must, of course, also be observed (see the
 chapter, "Life in the Community," the sections, "Marriage
 Obstacles and Regulations" and "Old Age and Death").

/467 cont. /

426 The extreme politeness of the Meau is also shown in
576 collecting a debt. The Meau proceeds on the assumption that this demand for payment will not be a pleasant experience for the debtor, and /468/ the unpleasantness must be presented to him in the most amiable manner possible. The creditor announces his visit several months in advance. On the day set the debtor prepares a feast in which the creditor participates without saying a word about the debt. The Meau assume that this is superfluous, for the debtor knows only too well why the creditor has come. Shortly before the guest departs, the debt is paid without any request.

576 The same line of thought is the basis for the procedure of a visit if the visitor would like to make a request. Everything possible is discussed first, except the purpose of the call. The reason for the visit is mentioned quite casually only in connection with the repeatedly announced departure.

192 As "please," the Meau use the word tău or tău mên yē,
576 which literally means "please a little"; "thank you" is tō tse, but one usually says tō tse hō tō, with the meaning of "thank you very kindly!" As affirmation, the Meau use yā; as negation, kū tsi ōa. They also have expressions for a number of emotions: esteem = lău sī yūn; veneration = lău sī lū lē; contempt = hū yū; fear, horror = hūi; hatred = a drawn-out ō, amazement = ōū.

156 The Meau vary greatly in their mental abilities. One finds average persons among them, but in addition personalities with pronounced qualities of leadership, who stand out because of a talent for organization, which is peculiar to the Meau in general to a high degree, as well as because of heightened rhetorical gifts and an innate authority which everywhere is made up of the immeasurable, imponderable qualities of a natural leader. Such a born leader, for example, was the Meau chief, Tsin Tsai, whose hospitality we enjoyed for some
115 time and with whom I undertook hunting expeditions. It is
156 interesting how his personality impressed even an unprejudiced
622 European observer. For this reason I shall reproduce the
● 123 pertinent section from my wife's journal:

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/468 cont. /

115 "Chief Tsin Tsai is a wonderful fellow. When he sits
156 cross-legged on the ground, his long back hair knotted, the
622 long tobacco pipe in his hand, his high forehead furrowed in
123 thought, tensing the muscles of his lean jaws, /469/ stroking his
sparse beard which hangs down from his strongly projecting
zygomatic arches, he is so remarkably the typical representative
of his industrious people, and yet he towers above their average.
Not for a moment is he idle or unoccupied. Now he plait
a basket; scarcely finished, he cuts up a piece of game and
distributes the meat, and now he sharpens his knife on a stone
and goes into the bush for a few minutes. There he digs up
some edible roots and brings them to us as a welcome supple-
ment to our monotonous diet in the camp and visits my husband
at his work in order to propose a hunting trip together. As soon
as my husband has consented, he goes into his house to lay out a
stick oracle and ask the spirits in which direction he must turn
in order to have success, what kind of booty he can expect, and
more of the same. During this time his people have come back
from the fields. They quietly wait for the oracle and then turn
to the chief with a series of questions. Quietly and decisively
the latter now gives his orders and then is off on the hunt."

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787 A few pages further in her journal my wife returns to the
chief: "It is a pleasure to watch Tsin Tsai at work. He is friendly
and helpful, offers us every service, carries the hand luggage,
and regards no work as 'beneath his dignity.' Moreover, he is
clever, circumspect, and prudent; he sizes up the situation im-
mediately and is able to differentiate between the essential and
the nonessential. He answers questions with brief, logical, and
sensible replies. If one asks him for advice, he always supplements
his information with detailed reasoning. To be sure, in matters
dealing with hunting, he always judges for us on the basis of his
own experiences, so that sometimes differences result. He
maintains, for instance, that, after a shot, tigers come along
to search for wounded game, whereas our experience was that they
immediately disappeared, never to be seen again. Moreover,
wild animals were generally much more timid than he expected,
probably because there were more of us than he was accustomed to.

/469 cont. /

115 His unconditional reliance on the information from the spirits
 156 by way of the oracle is characteristic of him. We also discovered
 622 that prior to our arrival he had asked the spirits what our secret
 • 123 intentions were. The information must have been favorable
 [787] for us, since he decided to obey us unconditionally. /470/ I can
 well imagine, however, that if the opposite had been the case,
 everything would have been other but pleasant.

"Tsin Tsai carefully cultivates his fields and in addition
 is an excellent smith who is even able to forge guns and to melt
 and work silver. He knows how to make paper as well as to
 castrate animals. His real passion is for the hunt. Finally, he
 [756] also acts as shaman, questions the spirits, and offers sacrifices to
 [757] the ancestors and spirits. He also, however, undoubtedly
 possesses medical knowledge, and the Meau come to him from
 afar in order to be treated by him." Without detriment to these
 activities, he discharges his duties as village chief and judge to
 the satisfaction of all."

762 Although the vitality of the Meau seems almost inexhaustible
 and they are very cheerful, suicides nevertheless occur. In
 three instances that I learned of, it was a matter of unhappily
 married women who had no chance of getting a divorce. In one
 case, a young man could not get along with his older brother who
 was acting as the head of the family.

53 The Meau are not especially good orators, but on the
 other hand are very talented lyrically as poets and singers.

177 In keeping with their great vitality, they are open to
 innovations if a thing does not conflict with their tradition, their
 religious prohibitions, or their experiences. They indeed cling
 tenaciously to their traditional attire, but, from what has been said,
 they may be regarded as quite adaptable. To be sure, Savina (1)

1. II, p. 188.

states: "During the course of his migration he (the Meau, note
 by Dr. B.) has seen among other peoples houses that were much
 more comfortable than his own. And yet it never occurs to him
 to build something similar." In my opinion, however, this does

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/528 cont. /

for medicine that have to be overcome, it should be relatively easy to fight epidemics successfully, especially since almost all the diseases concerned offer no difficult problems for modern European medicine. The readiness to submit to European doctors is also stressed in the literature. Abadie, for instance, states(1):

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1. Page 159.

"The Meau prize the free, expert medical treatment which the French doctors give them, with the assistance of native medical helpers, on their circuits among them."

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With the help of well-chosen doctors, it will be possible to influence the beliefs and also to exert a decisive influence upon the shamans, for, in the eyes of the mountain peoples, the ability to cure diseases is equivalent to visible mastery over the evil spirits that call forth these diseases. Most of the shamans by far want only the best for the people for whom they feel responsible. It will therefore not be difficult to persuade them to intercede against moving the villages, if they are convinced that this would be to the advantage of their community.

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The following event proved to me that in this respect natives whose trust has been won are easily influenced: One day, a Meau chief, in whose village I had stayed for some time, came to me in order to tell me that he and his fellows had become convinced by my many successful cures that my spirits were more powerful than their own. He therefore requested me to ask my spirits whether and when he should move the village. If my spirits approved, he would prefer not to change his residence during his lifetime.

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The Thailand doctors and their medical helpers would have to gain the confidence of the mountain peoples. Since the Thailand national character is distinguished by tact and sympathy, the right path will soon be taken automatically. Nevertheless it is important to point out that in the medical treatment of the natives, the /529/ shamans and chiefs of the mountain peoples must always be enlisted. Usually these village authorities will let themselves be properly taught and